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Horn of Africa Bulletin (September 2007)

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HORN OF AFRICA BULLETIN

ANALYSES • CONTEXT • CONNECTIONS

Analyses

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Ethnic clichés

The conflicts in Sudan are apparently very simple. It is always “Arabs versus Africans” or “Muslims versus Christians/Animists”. Thus speaks the media. The aid, human rights and peace industries profess to have a more sophisticated understanding, but in practice this is not very evident.

In fact, of course, the conflicts in Sudan are immensely complex, often interconnected, and rarely explicable in simple terms. Let us try just to scratch the surface of the complexity.

For southern Sudanese who have experienced decades (if not centuries) of racial and religious discrimination and marginalisation by northern Sudanese, there is a fairly clear labelling of northerners as “Arabs” and “Muslims”. In the bush with insurgents in 1984 I asked about the political ideology and was told very simply, “We’re fighting to get the Arabs out of our land”. I vividly remember a young teenage soldier taking the magazine out of his AK47 and handing it to a 5-year old to teach him how to use it, saying, “When you get older you can kill Arabs like I do”. Whatever the accuracy of the terms “African” and “Arab”, it is clear to a southerner who is who. Those who have suffered so much perhaps have the right to view things simply.

But most observers, and many southerners who have engaged with the issues at a more analytical level, would argue that there are other elements to the conflict in the south, and that the “Arab-African” labels are not as clear as they seem. At one level everyone born on the African continent is African, and indeed white South Africans often claim thus. Much of northern Africa has the dual identity of being African-born but of mixed Arab-African descent, Arab language and culture, and Islamic religion. Sometimes these people are called “Arabised” but, like all labels, this can also be problematic. Northern Sudan’s population is a mixed race stemming from the original indigenous African population and Arab immigrants. While the Arabic language, culture and religion have become dominant, nevertheless some ethnic groups have maintained their traditional trappings to a greater or lesser extent. What is true in Sudan is that over many centuries people who can claim Arab descent have somehow gained access to more status, more power and

more resources than those who cannot. This reportedly led to the fabrication of genealogies, especially links to prominent religious figures and families of the past. Thus it was good not only to be an “Arab”, but also to be more Arab than your neighbour.

While there is a fairly clear difference in identity between most southerners and most northerners, whatever one might choose to call that identity, it becomes far more blurred in Darfur. Between 40 and 90 different ethnic groups live there, and many of them also straddle the international borders. Some are agriculturalists, some pastoralists. Darfur had been an independent state until forcibly brought into Sudan by the British and Egyptian condominium government in 1916. Modern tensions have existed for decades, have resulted in low-level armed conflict at least since the late 1990s, and eventually escalated into the full-scale civil war and humanitarian catastrophe that we see today.

Clearly it is not a war between Christians and Muslims. Virtually everybody in Darfur is Muslim, apart from small communities of southern immigrants and northern orthodox Christians. To some extent it pits agriculturalists against pastoralists, but that is also too simplistic, and even if that explanation summed up some earlier tensions the bitter war has now moved beyond it. Is it a war of African against Arab? Well, yes. And, well, no.

Some years ago it was rare to hear tensions in Darfur described in terms of Arab-African. Now it appears to be the dominant discourse. Many communities seem to identify themselves primarily as Arab, while others identify themselves as African, despite the difficulties inherent in those terms. Where there are multiple identities, it is often a matter of which identity a community chooses for itself. At the same time, it has been seized upon by the international community as a convenient shorthand for the conflict.

Once that shorthand has been accepted, then it is very easy to label one side as “oppressor” and the other as “victim”. That the *janjawiid* are oppressors is fairly clear; that they are largely “Arab” is accepted; that their victims are “Africans” has also become accepted. And it is probably true. But it masks a great deal of complexity. A few lone voices (including the authoritative one of Julie Flint) have pointed out that Arabs are also victims of this war that is destroying Darfur. As in most wars, civilians are harmed on all sides and none are the principal victims. And the *janjawiid* is not a monolithic united armed force with a single unified purpose. Rather, it is a patchwork of militias raised willingly or unwillingly from various sectors of Darfur society, manipulated by the central government. While possibly gaining some short term benefits for its members, it is also undermining Darfur society and storing up long term problems for itself and the communities from which it is drawn.

And this manipulation by the central government brings me to my conclusion. Darfur is not primarily about Arabs or Africans, pastoralists or agriculturalists. It is not primarily about any of the many and real tensions which do exist in that region. The genocide and humanitarian catastrophe in Darfur indeed have little to do with Darfur and everything to do with Khartoum. Until the world shifts its main focus from Darfur and recognises that humanitarian aid, human rights trials and peace-keepers, while necessary, are only addressing short term symptoms; until the international community recognises Khartoum’s skills in creating political and diplomatic red herrings in Darfur to attract attention away from the centre; and until the centre-periphery dynamics and the vested interests of a powerful central northern elite are addressed – there will never be peace and justice in Darfur, nor in the rest of Sudan.

John Ashworth

Freelance journalist and consultant, earlier coordinator of Sudan Focal Point Africa, a peace and advocacy ministry of the Sudanese Churches

Ethiopia

Release of political prisoners raises hope

After persistent internal and international pressure, 38 of the Ethiopian political prisoners belonging to the largest opposition party, Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), were set free on 20 July 2007. The release continued with 32 more later set free. The main mediators who negotiated clemency and the final release of the prisoners are a group of Ethiopian elders led by Professor Ephraim Isaac, International Chairman of the Peace and Development Committee (PDC) a long time partner of the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) in Ethiopia. This move has triggered tremendous hope, jubilation and goodwill both within Ethiopia and externally among the Diaspora, as well as concerned governments and international and regional organisations.

Ethiopia was in a post-conflict transitional situation in the early 1990s, after decades of civil and externally originated wars and revolutionary upheaval. As research reveals, for such a situation to result in successful democratic development the political framework must be based on the principles of inclusiveness, shared responsibilities, security for all, trust, and legitimacy. Deep-seated national reconciliation and the healing of past wounds is a cardinal facilitating element. In a recent speech, Professor Ephraim argued that at the historic juncture of the early 1990s one key factor missing in Ethiopia was the absence of national reconciliation. The consequences of its neglect continue to haunt Ethiopian political life.

Mediation by elders, forgiveness and reconciliation belong to highly valued assets of Ethiopian culture, history and tradition. Manoel de Almeida, a Portuguese visitor in Ethiopia during the early 17th Century, recorded the following, with generous words, about the traditional non-violent method of conflict resolution: "Almost all these people are intelligent and very good natured. They are not cruel or blood thirsty, but mild, gentle, kind, and so inclined to forgiveness that they readily pardon any injuries. There are not many brawls among them and when there are they rarely strike with sword ... In any brawl or quarrel that is not satisfactorily concluded, they choose arbitrators or accept them from the lord of the soil, state their case on both sides and judgment is given. Then the guilty man's punishment most often consists only in asking pardon or in making payment and the brawl is then forgotten as though it had never happened".

It is in the spirit of this rich cultural practice that Professor Ephraim and his elders ventured to test the ground for what powerful diplomacy had failed to secure - the acceptance in principle of the ruling party and the opposition (CUD) leadership to start a journey of dialogue and forgiveness, although there were lots of hurdles and legal wrangling along the way.

The background to the problem is found in the political history of Ethiopia. Ever since the centuries-old feudal monarchy was replaced by a leftist military government in 1974, the Ethiopian political scene has experienced unparalleled violence and the polarisation of the logic of the radical ideology of the time. After 17 years of rule, the military regime gave way to the armed opposition led by the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Front, which promised democracy and human rights. Although respect for human rights and democratic principles is a stated virtue, the satisfactory attainment of that system in practice still continues to be illusive. The proliferation and continuation of armed opposition, the 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrean war and the continued problems of structural violence make the goal of sustainable peace hard to obtain.

Compared to previous elections (1995, 2000), the one in 2005 showed acknowledged improvement. As one US government official observed: "The run-up to the May 2005 national elections was the most open, free, and competitive political campaign period in all of Ethiopian history. Never before had opposition candidates had so much access to coveted constituencies and the ability to convene rallies and openly campaign against ruling party opponents."

The aftermath of the elections brought the worst any society aspiring to democratic transition can wish. The opposition accused the ruling party of serious irregularities during voting and called the public to protest action and demonstrations in June and November 2005. The government security forces reacted violently, and the ensuing confrontation resulted in the loss of human life and extensive damage to persons and property. The event further polarised the Ethiopian politics as thousands of opposition supporters were imprisoned along with party leaders, civil society activists and journalists. It was to this situation that the elders offered their services

It was at that trying time for Ethiopia that the elders began their task of mediation, which resulted in the globally publicised release of the key political leaders. Otherwise, the events of May 2005 and their consequences appeared to threaten the country with more generalised violence. People longed for peace, but there were no tangible actions on the horizon until the release of the prisoners, which was lauded nationally and globally.

Elders are unarmed individuals that are committed to serve their communities through peaceful means. But they are equipped with high moral principles, which give them their aura of authority. They confront leaders with their disarming non-violent force of persuasion. In his recent speech, Professor Ephraim enumerated this force as follows:

Traditional elders (1) fear God, not people, not even the rulers; (2) respect rulers and people whatever their status; (3) have limitless patience and ability to listen and never give up, not expecting results overnight; (4) speak politely, not using angry/offensive language; (5) are humble, honest, and tolerant; (6) do not harbour hate, but love people and sympathize with their suffering; (7) know and understand their subject deeply; (8) are not judgmental and do not take sides; (9) work hard – sleep in moderation; (10) are overall wise and discerning, with faith and hope that all will be well in the end.

The move brought joy from all corners. European Union (EU) Commissioner Louis Michel saw the release as "a major political act of reconciliation" and stated: "This outcome would not have been possible without the relentless efforts of the Group of Elders who served as mediators and the will and courage of both sides to overcome their differences for the good of the country". Congressman Mike Honda, representing the Congressional Ethiopian American Caucus, said: "In the spirit of new beginnings, it is my hope that the Ethiopian Government and members of the political opposition take every step toward true reconciliation".

The CUD's parliamentary group leader is quoted to have stated: "The release of the leaders would have a significant contribution towards proceeding the political struggle through peaceful means and under the supremacy of law."

In their first statement, the released CUD leaders said: "It is to be recalled that national elders have been making concerted efforts to have us released from prison and to extricate the Ethiopian peaceful political process from the aggressive and intransigent state in which it finds itself. Their effort was focused not only on having us released from detention but also on restoring the derailed democratic process to its proper course. Based on this understanding, we have agreed to resolve the conflict through a reconciliation process as initiated by the elders. We have further agreed to forgive all those who have done wrong, to seek ways by which those who have been harmed could be healed, but above all to look to the future and concentrate on the positive conditions that would be created after the reconciliation. National elders have strived to resolve the problem through peace and reconciliation."

This event has been seen with suspicion by some observers. Some angrily questioned how those who were wronged could sign an apology letter, while others suspected it was a faked statement made for government purposes. Why the government made the apology letter public is still being debated widely. However, one thing must be clear: the main purpose of the traditional concept of justice and reconciliation is

not only to identify and punish the guilty party, but to restore severed relationships among the parties and the society at large. It is restorative justice, primarily interested in healing bruised feelings and broken relationships.

The concept of forgiveness has many meanings. It is a shield for the protagonists to venture into substantial matters to sort out their differences without being exposed to political and legal vagaries. What matters is really what the protagonists can achieve for the future of their society. It is a 'borrowed shield' until they create enough security for all, mutual trust and legitimacy for their cooperative venture of establishing lasting peace and a democratic system.

Ethiopia is closing its own 20th Century (according to the Gregorian calendar) during the second week of September, and is preparing to celebrate its millennium. Many decades of its history during the Twentieth Century were squandered in defensive and civil wars, and in rehabilitation. All who support the present measure consider it a starting point for Ethiopia to undertake serious national reconciliation that paves the way for ardent democratisation and development in preparation for her entry into the 21st Century. The opportunity should not be missed by any miscalculations, which can wreck the current positive move.

By a staff writer at Life & Peace Institute

NEWS AND EVENTS

Muslim music concert to raise funds for Darfur

A Muslim Live8 is to be staged at Wembley stadium in London on 21 October to highlight the humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

The charities Islamic Relief and Muslim Aid, which are organising the event, want the concert to raise funds and awareness about the genocide in the region, where the combatants and victims are all Muslim.

The United Nations (UN) has estimated that at least 200,000 people have been killed and more than two million displaced by the combined effect of war and famine since civil conflict erupted in Darfur four and a half years ago. (AFP)

Sudan:

Art exhibition on Peace and Reconciliation

The Diocese of Malakal will be holding an art exhibition in late October on the theme of peace and reconciliation in Sudan. Bishop Hillary, an artist by training, and other artists from around Sudan will be exhibiting their work to the local community. The children of Malakal Primary school will also be producing some work. The exhibition is funded by Christian Aid and photos of the exhibition will later go on tour in UK churches.

Kenya:

Governance and leadership issues for Ecumenical Forum

A four-day meeting on the theme "Transformative Leadership and Governance in the Reconstruction of the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa" gathered 50 ecumenical representatives in Nairobi 14-17 August. The consultation was arranged in conjunction with the annual meeting of FECCLAHA (Fellowship of Christian Council and Churches in the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa). In addition to a state-

ment expressing the importance of good leadership in order to secure peace and development, the participants formulated a letter to the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi. The letter welcomed the release of the political prisoners but also expressed concern related to the increased tension between the government and the ONLF movement in Ogaden.

Interfaith Conference Ends with Commitment to Healing and Reconciliation

Meeting under the auspices of the Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa (IFAPA) in Tripoli (Libya) from 27-30 August, representatives of Africa's seven faith traditions reiterated a common resolve to healing and reconciliation in ongoing peace processes on the continent. In the second meeting since its inauguration in June 2006, the IFAPA Commission prioritized solidarity peace visits to Burundi, Eritrea and Ethiopia, Northern Uganda, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Rev. Leonard Amos Mtaita of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania urged the IFAPA commissioners to ensure that solidarity visits to conflict-prone regions included meetings with top government representatives. The gathering brought together IFAPA commissioners, Libyan government officials, Members of Parliament from various African countries, some observers from Europe and North America, as well as media persons.

Summing up his impressions of the interfaith body on the eve of its fifth anniversary, IFAPA convener and general secretary of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Rev. Dr Ishmael Noko, said: "We have come a long way in the last five years of IFAPA, from an initiative that involved only religious leaders and communities to a partnership between the religious communities, private sector and political leadership. I hope that the coming years will take IFAPA forward to a stage where peace education will be a joint responsibility in this new-found partnership."

Ethiopia

Ecumenical envoy to AU

The World Council of Churches (WCC) has appointed Mr Melaku Kifle as Ecumenical Envoy to the African Union (AU) beginning in August 2007. The office of the Ecumenical Envoy, established at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, will relate to the WCC in Geneva, the All Africa Conference of Churches in Nairobi, the WCC ecumenical office in New York, the Human Rights council in Geneva and the EU-related ecumenical network APRODEV in Brussels. Mr Kifle expresses the challenge to the new ecumenical set up: "The time has come for us Africans to interpret our own situation first. When that has been done our external partners can join us and advocate on our behalf."

Ethiopia/Eritrea

Ex-Norwegian PM warns of new Ethiopia-Eritrea war

Mr. Kjell Bondevik, the former Prime Minister of Norway, has called for international intervention in the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, warning of the danger of a new war between the two Horn of Africa nations. "The border commission recommendations have not been implemented. We have until November, but the worst case scenario is that we are approaching a new war," said Bondevik in the Libyan capital Tripoli, where he is attending the second Interfaith Action for Peace in Africa commission meeting from 27-30 August. Bondevik said the tensions between the two countries about the border region called Badme was related to wider conflict in the region. About 70 000 people were killed in the 1998-2000 border war between the two countries. Tripoli (ENI).

Sudan

UN Rights Expert Urges Suspension to Dam Projects in North

Independent UN human rights expert and Special Rapporteur to the UN Human Rights Council, Mr Miloon Kothari, has called for a halt to work on two hydroelectric dams in the Merowe and Kajbar areas of northern Sudan. This came after he received reports that local communities are about to face large-scale evictions from the area to make way for the projects. Mr. Kothari said work on the dams should be suspended until an independent assessment can be carried out on the projects' impact on the local population, estimated at more than 60,000. Given the local opposition, moving forward with the projects "would lead to large-scale forced evictions and further violence," he said. Mr. Kothari urged the Sudanese Government to take all necessary steps to ensure the safety and adequate housing of locals. He stressed that the Sudanese authorities must fully comply with international principles and guidelines on how to handle the evictions and displacement that follow development projects. Finally, the companies involved in the dams and the countries that have funded the projects were urged to put a halt to the work until the impartial evaluation could be made. UN News Service (New York) 28 August 2007

Sudan:

Christian Leaders concerned oil wealth is used for war purposes

Sudan Christian leaders are concerned that the country's oil wealth, previously used by the Government in the north of the country to fuel a 21-year war in the south, is again being used for war purposes as well as Government attempts to solve the Darfur crisis. "One of the things we as churches fear is that most of the [oil] funds go for war and solutions in Darfur. These funds are gained from oil in Sudan," the Rev. Peter Tibi, the Sudan Council of Churches general secretary, said in Nairobi. He was speaking after attending a meeting of the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa. (ENI).

Sudan

AU urges Oslo donors to honour financial pledge to South Sudan

The AU Peace and Security Council (AUPSC) appealed to the international community to fulfil its obligations promised at the Oslo donors conference for the financing of reconstruction and development projects in southern Sudan, and to work towards helping Sudan by alleviating the burdens of foreign debts.

Ambassador Mohiddin Salim, Sudan's representative in the AU, told the official Sudanese News Agency (SUNA) that in its final statement the Council called on the African Ministerial Committee for Reconstructing of the South to make their postponed visit to Southern Sudan to look into the development and reconstruction process. Salim pointed out that the statement emphasized the need for more efforts by both parties to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) to solve the pending problems between them, according to the requirements of the agreement.

Somalia

National Reconciliation Conference concluded

After six weeks of deliberations the *Somali National Reconciliation Conference* came to a close on 30 August, passing resolutions on several issues including clan reconciliation, distribution of resources, and elections planned for 2009. Transitional

Federal Government (TFG) spokesman Abdi Haji Gobdon deems the conference a “total success”, though a completion of the reconciliation process was not reached. François Fall – UN Special Representative for Somalia – welcomed the outcomes of the conference but cautioned that much more effort is required to foster better internal relations in Somalia. Analysts are questioning whether the conference produced substantial progress on the reconciliation process, especially because opposition elements from the Hawiye clans and the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) did not attend.

Since 6 September 2007, Somali opposition groups have been gathering to hold a conference in the Eritrean capital, Asmara, termed the *Somali Congress for Liberation and Reconstitution*. It aims at uniting forces against the Ethiopian-backed TFG. According to the Shabelle Media Network, 300 delegates who include UIC leaders, opposition politicians, religious leaders and civil society groups in the Diaspora are participating. Observers from the EU, the Arab league and the UN are also attending.

RESOURCES AND LINKS

General

International Crisis Group

The Responsibility to Protect: Creating and Implementing a New International Norm, Address by Gareth Evans, 28 August 2007.

www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5036&l=1

First International Conference on Child Sexual Abuse in Africa. 24-26 September 2007 (Nairobi, Kenya)

The aim of the conference is to advance knowledge regarding the various types of sexual abuse and their complexity in the cultural settings of Africa.

www.anppcan.org; E-mail: regional@anppcan.org

Eritrea

News and articles on developments in Eritrea

www.awate.com

Ethiopia

United States Institute of Peace

Special report “Political Violence and Democratic Uncertainty in Ethiopia” by Lahra Smith. This report analyses political developments in Ethiopia since the elections in 2005 that have, according to Smith, been characterised by a rapid deterioration in state-society relations.

www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr192.pdf

Article- For a Democratic Horn of Africa in the new millennium

An account to solve the Horn’s multiple crisis by Dr. Maimire Mennasemay.

www.ethiomeia.com/ace/for_democratic_horn.html

Somalia

Human Rights Watch Report on laws of war violations in Mogadishu

The Human Rights Watch (HRW) Report “Shell-Shocked. Civilians Under Siege

in Mogadishu” is based on eyewitness accounts gathered by HRW in a six-week research mission to Kenya and Somalia.

<http://hrw.org/reports/2007/somalia0807/somalia0807webwcover.pdf>

News on Somalia

For daily updated news on Somali developments both in English and Somali see www.shabelle.net/ and www.hornafrik.com

Uganda

Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR)

This international network for media development, with non-profit divisions in Europe, the US and Africa, is supporting training and capacity-building programs for local journalism, with field programs in more than two dozen countries. Among its resources are several reports on the International Criminal Court in Uganda.

<http://iwpr.net/>

Sudan

Human Security Bulletin, Issue August 2007:

“Darfur. Whose Responsibility to Protect”

This issue of the Human Security Bulletin, published by the Canadian Consortium on Human Security (CCHS), focuses on the conflicting interests and priorities of the major international actors in Darfur.

www.humansecurity.info/sites/cchs/files/PDF/Darfur_English.pdf

UNHCR: Women abducted, raped and kept as sex slaves

Eighth periodic report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on the human rights situation in the Sudan, on “Women abducted, raped and kept as sex slaves following the December 2006 attacks on Deribat”, released 20 August 2007.

www.ohchr.org/english/press/docs/Deribat_report_20Aug07.pdf

Small Arms Survey –

The Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment Project (HSBA)

www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/sudan.html

The Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment is a three-year project (2005-08) administered by the Small Arms Survey. The main objective is to provide information and background analyses on arms dynamics in Sudan. Among recent publications are:

Arms, Oil and Darfur. The Evolution of Relations between China and Sudan, July 2007. This report examines the nature of the relationship between China and Sudan, with particular emphasis on the oil industry and arms sales as well as on commercial, political and military ties.

www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SIB%207%20Arms.pdf

[SIB%207%20Arms.pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SIB%207%20Arms.pdf)

John Young, *The White Army: An Introduction and Overview, June 2007.*

In his paper Young explores the origins, structures and decline of the so called “white army” in Nuerland.

www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%205%20White%20Army.pdf

[SWP%205%20White%20Army.pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/sudan/Sudan_pdf/SWP%205%20White%20Army.pdf)

European Coalition on Oil in Sudan – Updated oil map

This recently updated oil map provides an overview of the oil business in Sudan.

www.ecosonline.org/back/pdf_reports/2007/Oil/oilfieldmap%20Sudan%20ECOS%20aug2007.pdf

New book on the crisis in Darfur (September 2007): Alex de Waal (ed.), *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*, Harvard University Press 2007.

A series of essays by leading Sudanese and international specialists on Darfur, the book provides an in-depth analysis of the origins and dimensions of the conflict. The study also focuses on the search for peace, with contributions by those most closely engaged in local and international efforts to resolve the conflict.
www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog/DEWWAR.html

Report of the UN Secretary General on Sudan to the Security Council, 20 August 2007

www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep07.htm

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Editorial information

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Editorial principles

The Horn of Africa Bulletin (HAB) is an international newsletter, compiling analyses, news and resources primarily in the Horn of Africa region. The material published in HAB represents a variety of sources and does not necessarily represent the views of the Life & Peace Institute (LPI) or the cooperating partners, the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) and the Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa (FECCLAHA). Writers and sources are normally referred to, although in exceptional cases, the editors of the HAB may choose not to reveal the real identity of a writer or publish the source.